20c NOVEMBER 6, 1950

New Republic

THE MEANING OF THE ELECTIONS

By LOUIS H. BEAN

PRODUCTION: THE ANSWER TO INFLATION

AN EDITORIAL

THE SAD CASE OF HAROLD STASSEN

By A. J. GRAHAM

"CONFINED AND BRED IN DARKNESS"

A Review of Walter Gellhorn's
"Security, Loyalty and Science"

By JAMES R. NEWMAN

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Editor: The New Republic

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New Republic

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1950, IN THE U. S. A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., PUBLISHING OFFICE 301 N ST., N. E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C. EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER SEPTEMBER 26, 1950, AT THE POST OFFICE AT WASHINGTON, D. C., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY, 20¢; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, $6.50; CANADA AND FOREIGN, $7.50. PRINTED IN THE U. S. A.

WASHINGTON WIRE

IN THE final week before the voting, the election looks close. Political "experts" are notably subdued. They did enough predicting in 1948 for two elections. Their turn will probably come after the vote when, if there is a fairly close result, they can spend the next month or so trying to explain what it means. Actually a mid-term election is such an arbitrary, artificial affair based on local issues that it can be quite hard to make sense out of it unless the results are sweeping. Past statistics will help keep proportion. Since the Civil War the "outs" (in this case GOP) have normally won back about 25 House seats lost in the preceding Presidential election (1948). This is the rough break-even point. GOP gains above that figure would mean a substantial victory; below it, proportionately, a defeat. Failure to take at least 25 House seats in 1950 would make Republican success in 1952 highly unlikely.

Here is the best we could find out about the current Washington meeting of Atlantic Pact defense ministers: First question asked was how intransigent France really is against use of German troops in integrated West European army? It is gospel both here and in London that Europe can't be defended unless German troops are brought into line. But France says she will accept German troops only conditionally. US quarters profess themselves undisturbed by French opposition (centered in the so-called Pleven plan). We seek a formula that will allow a start to be made.

This has created a new word—SHAPE. It stands for "Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers in Europe." It is the postwar equivalent of Eisenhower's SHAEF in London, and Ike will probably head this, too. Plans are ambitious: 20 to 25 divisions next summer (10 French, five US, three British, others scattering); ultimately 75 to 80 divisions. Eventually the US may have a third of its army in Europe. France is being assured that she will have first grab at huge proposed exports of American war supplies, also that French troops in the combined army will at all times exceed the German total. With due sympathy for the French attitude, Washington nevertheless feels it basically absurd that every West European nation should help to defend Germany except Germany.

We have always wondered what good it does Truman to get up early in the morning when he takes a nap later in the day. Generally the nap is half an hour or an hour. But he will get up early. He did on his quick visit to New York last week to make his UN speech. He was up, out, and ready for his morning walk at 6:30. This walk is quite a performance. His special train had crept stealthily into the enclosed siding of the Long Island Rail Road right across from the Belmont race track at five. Yet a crowd was waiting for him. Where so many people appear from at this outrageous hour of the morning we can't imagine. Truman strides at four miles an hour, generally for half to three-quarters of an hour, hails anybody who hails him, and is surrounded at all times by ducking, running photographers, platoons of Secret Service men, and bevies of reporters. We wouldn't be President for anything. We shall remember Truman's face as he returned. It had a set smile, a look of conscious physical achievement, and a flair to the nostrils as though he were trying not to pant.

The important thing about the release of the report on the Philippines written by Daniel W. Bell, former Undersecretary of the Treasury, is the outline it gives of the Islands' government. The Bell Report only half tells the story. This government is a source of deepest anxiety to the State Department. It is frightened, ineffective, corrupt and reactionary, just the kind of government

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that breeds Communists. It epitomizes the problem the US runs into, the world over, in trying to hold back Communism without supporting a corrupt status quo. The Bell Report reveals the problem and also what we are trying to do: we offer the Islands a $250 million five-year aid program if they will clean house. Many doubt if the Quirino Government, any more than Chiang Kai-shek's before it, can do this.

There may be a nationwide telephone tie-up November 9. If it occurs, the Government will certainly intervene. The present test comes in a threatened strike by the Communications Workers of America-CIO, involving the 16,700 Western Electric Company employees who make AT&T apparatus. For years the giant telephone combine has fought the union. Oddly enough, Truman has just named the ex-head of the one-time anti-union AT&T, Walter Gifford, as his diplomatic representative to Socialist England. The pressure toward complete unionization continues at home.

To maintain US health standards, it is estimated that one doctor is needed for every 700 people. The supply now falls 20 percent short of this minimum. Cost of training is so high that medical schools can't meet it; they and the Government have urged substantial federal subsidies. Here's where the American Medical Association, which runs one of Washington's biggest lobbies, comes in. It is easiest to think of AMA as a trade union, a closely-knit "closed-shop" union, now making extraordinary profits for its members. It fought and defeated the federal aid-to-medical-schools bill over the anguished cries of the medical-school deans. In general, the AMA seems to us to be engaged in throwing away the priceless traditional goodwill of the public toward the good, gray doctor. In Boston last week, Dr. Paul R. Hawley, director of the American College of Surgeons, told the group's annual convocation that the problems of the medical profession largely spring from its failure to realize that a "social revolution" has been in progress. Dr. Hawley seemed to feel the doctors should give themselves a prescription.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Mr. Lynch's Record

SIR: The Mickey Levine article in your issue of October 16, 1950, raised many points that I believe should be answered.

I would like to point out only one important matter raised by Mr. Levine that I think will interest your readers across the country. Mr. Levine asks: "Can he [the independent voter in New York] vote for Representative Lynch as the liberal antidote to Dewey?" Your readers looking for the answer to this question, and curious about the liberal record of the next Governor of New York State may be interested in knowing:

1. Representative Lynch voted correctly, according to the American Veterans Committee's own recommendations, for the two sessions of the 81st Congress, on ten out of twelve issues. On the remaining two, Representative Lynch was absent. I mention the AVC in particular since Mr. Levine is a member of the National Planning Committee and a former chairman of the New York Co-ordinating Committee.

2. Representative Lynch voted correctly on all ten of the votes deemed most important during the 81st Congress by the AFL.

I have not had an opportunity to compare Representative Lynch's voting record with the recommendations of the *New Republic* and the CIO, for the 81st Congress, but a comparison of Representative Lynch's votes over the years reflects a strong, liberal, progressive inclination.

Representative Lynch, as a member of the Conference Committee, led the vote against the so-called Knowland amendment to the Social Security bill passed last summer. He voted in the best traditions of men like Senator Wagner and Herbert H. Lehman—for the things he knew to be right.

New York City ROBERT A. LOW

ADA and Democrats

SIR: Mickey Levine in your October 30 Correspondence column thinks you should change your characterization of Americans for Democratic Action from "the most important non-Communist and indeed anti-Communist national liberal organization in this country today" to "the most important non-Communist and indeed anti-Communist national liberal organization *within the Democratic Party.*"

Mickey has been a good friend of the ADA and along with many other liberals I am grateful for the inspiration and leadership he has given. I think I know why he wants you to change your label. As Chairman of the West Side Branch of the New York City ADA last year, Mickey wanted the ADA to endorse Republican Oren Root Jr., against Democrat Robert Wagner Jr., for Borough President of Manhattan. Although the ADA endorsed Republican Newbold Morris against Democrat William O'Dwyer for Mayor and Republican Stanley Isaacs for City Council (completely belying Mickey's characterization of the ADA), it chose Wagner over Root. Bob Wagner, with a fine liberal record, was and is an active member of the New York State Executive Committee of the ADA. I can hardly believe Mickey wants to leave the impression that he considers the ADA a captive of the Democratic Party just because it wouldn't go all the way with him.

Mickey pays tribute to the AVC, the NAACP, the Conference for FEPC, and Labor's League for Political Education, in which ADA enthusiastically joins, although we would add the CIO-PAC and a number of other fine and effective organizations.

JAMES LOEB JR.
Executive Secretary, ADA
Washington, D.C.

The Record of Congress

SIR: Having finally figured out what the position of a Senator would be had he voted against sustaining a veto of an anti-Communist bill, I was somewhat disturbed at discovering that your voting chart (the *NR*, October 9) gives no direct information as to how any particular Senator actually did vote. To be sure, this information can be deduced in one fashion or another from the given data, both in regard to this and the remaining issues, but to say the least it is highly inconvenient.

To object to the inconvenience would be beside the point, since it seems clear that the chart was not intended for this purpose—and to this I do object. Admittedly, as published the chart merely indicates your opinion as to which Congressmen have a progressive record. The average reader no doubt has a quite legitimate interest in your opinion. However, I think it only fair that you give him a better opportunity to form his own. . . .

KENT E. ERICKSON
Kalmia, N. C.

It's a Different Department

SIR: In Mr. Strout's fine review of "The Man of Independence" he mentions as one of President Truman's recent appointments that of Robert Lovett "to be our Undersecretary of State." Mr. Lovett—who was at one time Undersecretary of State—has now been made Deputy Secretary of Defense.

BERNARD SINSHEIMER
Hollywood, Calif.

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VOLUME 123, NUMBER 19, ISSUE 1875, WASHINGTON, D. C., NOVEMBER 6, 1950 **New Republic**

PRODUCTION: THE ANSWER TO INFLATION

PRODUCTION IS falling behind demand in key areas of American industry. The "bottlenecks" of which the *New Republic*, among others, has so repeatedly warned, are already blocking further increases in our national output, with the defense program hardly begun. Unless the production of essential raw materials like iron and steel, copper, aluminum and nickel, cement and certain chemicals can be expanded to keep pace with the continuing rapid rise of purchasing power, the nation will suffer an unnecessary lowering of its standard of living as we proceed in our rearmament.

The vital economic statistics covering the last three months are now in.

Manufacturers turned out more goods in September than in any month since June, 1945. But demand grew even more. Fifty per cent more new orders were placed between July and August than a year earlier. Even though they pushed their output to the limit in September, manufacturers continued to fall further behind in unfilled orders.

The cost of some basic raw materials has been falling off a little in the last few weeks, but from September to mid-October, the prices of industrial goods rose another four percent, half as much as the total rise since the Korean War began. And the prices on finished goods in the stores continued up more than enough this month to offset the small drop in raw materials costs.

Corporation profits were still rising last month, the Commerce Department reports. Companies declared higher dividends and yet were able to invest record sums in expanding their plants. Industry seems certain to hit the $30-billion profit peak previously prophesied.

Personal incomes rose by an amount equal to an annual rate of more than $6 billion in this last quarter. Consumers borrowed or redeemed Government bonds in this period to the amount of another $10 billion to add to their purchasing power. And buying of television sets, automobiles and major household goods has continued without slackening.

Between July and October, everything boomed except the production of the most vital raw materials. Most of the industries which make up the foundation of our economy were already producing at close to capacity three months ago. The increase in production in this last quarter of the year has been least in the areas where it was desirable that it be most.

We urgently need much heavier taxes—on excess profits, on corporations and on individuals. We need at least limited controls over prices, wages and production, as we have needed them since the Korean War began. But controls, of themselves, will not raise our production or increase our industrial strength for the future.

All the conditions for economic growth are favorable today. During the war years of 1939-1944, the US increased its annual output by about 75 percent. Technically, expansion should be easier now than then. "All that we need," as Leon Keyserling, Chairman of the President's economic council, said recently in discussing this subject, "is an equal sense of urgency." An increase of 75 percent in our output in the next five years would bring American production to the equivalent of almost $500 billion per year. If we could do only one-third this well in the next five years, our annual production could be raised 25 percent. Mr. Keyserling states that "This rate of growth would be ample to support any defense effort now in contemplation, build up further our industrial equipment and productive power, and maintain standards of living at levels adequate to support the defense effort."

President Truman has repeatedly embraced this theory of constantly expanding production. The White House saw to it that the Defense Production Act under which the rearmament program is being developed contained a special section on "Expansion of Capacity and Supply." Administration leaders fought for a $2-billion revolving fund to enable the Government to finance additional capacity or stimulate private construction in a variety of ways. The appropriation for this purpose was granted last July, although it was cut to $600 million. In the three months since, however, not much progress has been made toward developing a well-thought-out plan to remove the bottlenecks on American production permanently.

Lately National Security Resources Board Chairman Stuart Symington has tackled one production bottleneck in a big way. Symington called in aluminum producers and requested that aluminum capacity be more than

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doubled in the next two years — adding two billion pounds to the present 1.4-billion-pound annual production. Symington's industry talks indicated that the Government will have to pay "upwards of 50 percent" of the bill of perhaps $1 billion, using up a major hunk of the $600 million Defense Revolving Fund for this one industry.

The steel industry has been widely hailed for its voluntary agreement to increase its present 100-million-ton production rate by 10 percent. General Motors Corporation chairman C. E. Wilson caused a near riot in Chicago last week, however, when he publicly attacked the steel industry for not having "enough confidence in the country to expand adequately."

Secretary of Commerce Charles Sawyer has shortsightedly accepted the 10-percent steel capacity increase offered by the industry as sufficient. It is not. If we are aiming at broadening general output, we need to reach 130 to 135 million tons of steel in the next two years.

To make two billion pounds of additional aluminum per year will take 20 billion more kilowatt hours of electric power. Other vast new claims on present supplies of electric power require development of large new sources of public power as quickly as possible.

Orderly expansion of our industrial production cannot be achieved under present circumstances. Under the plan of economic mobilization being followed in Washington there is no central control room to balance supplies against requirements and to direct, from a knowledge of those two factors, where the economy is to be expanded and by how much.

Perhaps the greatest obstacle to smooth functioning is the absence of any mass data about our resources. Business and general economic facts regularly come from the Department of Commerce, the Bureau of Labor Statistics and others. The NSRB and the CEA today need a different kind of data—knowledge of our steel supply, its distribution and comparable information on dozens of other commodities. The NSRB does not have these facts and is not organizing itself to get them. Without this information, intelligent planning is impossible. Without a planned program, production expansion is bound to be on the basis of "first come, first served."

More and more production is the best answer to inflation. Raw-materials bottlenecks will prevent that until the NSRB finds out exactly where our resources fall short and recommends exactly how much and where industry should expand. Symington should get ahead with this job at once. The President should demand that Congress, in the coming special session, raise the appropriation for extension of production and supply to at least the $2 billion originally requested.

THE WEEK

NEW PHASE?

LAKE SUCCESS (NR Correspondent)

There are indications that relations between the United States and Soviet Russia may be moving into a new phase, a phase still marked by tension, but supplemented by limited and cautious attempts at a *rapprochement*.

A number of happenings at Lake Success and at Flushing Meadow last week pointed in this direction. First was the announcement by Soviet Delegate Yakov A. Malik that Russia was willing to discuss the problem of a peace treaty with Japan. Russia hitherto has stayed aloof from this problem.

On the following day the Political and Security Committee unanimously approved a resolution urging the Big Five to confer with one another on the basic problems dividing them. Russia eagerly voted in favor of this resolution, although it tried unsuccessfully to substitute Communist China for the Nationalists at the future conferences. Since the five Powers need not confer simultaneously, the presence of Nationalist China should not prove a major stumbling-block. The United States likewise voted affirmatively, though conceding that it was not too hopeful of the outcome of any discussions at the present time.

The speech of Foreign Minister Andrei Y. Vishinsky defending the Soviet resolution for peace was another small straw in the wind, though it had an unusual amount of anti-American belligerency for this Assembly. Vishinsky declared, however, in referring to the problem of atomic energy, that the contemplated international agency should have the right to inspect atomic power plants anywhere at its own discretion, and for any reason. This was a step forward for the Russians. At the same time Vishinsky remained adamant against any plan for ownership and operation of power plants by the agency.

President Truman, in his United Nations Anniversary address at Flushing Meadow, proposed that the Commission for Conventional Armaments and the Atomic Energy Commission should merge to form a single Disarmament Commission. This paralleled what the Russians have for some time been advocating.

Bitter experience has taught the West to proceed slowly, however, on this problem of *rapprochement*. It still has vivid memories of fruitless discussions in the past and of commitments that were evaded or violated. And what are the motives for this apparent zeal of Soviet Russia to sit down at a conference table? Is it merely seeking to gain time in order to build up its strength? Or has it been

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spurred into sober reflection by the defeat in Korea? Is it trying to capitalize upon a universal desire for peace for peculiar and sinister motives?

These questions will be weighed carefully by the Western delegates. They will explore what possibilities exist for agreement. They will at the same time keep their powder dry.

SECURITY THROUGH CHAOS

The Internal Security Act of 1950, passed by Congress as a quick cure for Communism in America, has in one month's time created more chaos and confusion than its worst enemies predicted. It has disrupted normal immigration procedures in American ports and in our consulates around the world, and is proving a serious embarrassment to US relations with other countries.

The immigration section of the new law, a last-minute Senate addition, was never separately considered by the House and never given hearings. In the furor over whether or not to register Communists, few members of Congress realized the radical alteration in our immigration laws they were making overnight.

The McCarran Act, as passed, provided for exclusion from the United States of aliens who, at any time, "shall be or shall have been members . . . of the Communist or other totalitarian party of any state of the United States or any foreign State or of any . . . branch or affiliate of any such organization or party." The law, literally interpreted, seemed to bar entrance to almost anyone who had ever lived under a one-party regime or participated in organizations in any way associated with anti-democratic forces.

Officials of the State and Justice Departments worked into the night to prepare rough rules of thumb, drawing up new regulations and forwarding them to field offices. Certain cases appeared indisputably covered. On October first the State Department ordered its consulates to cease issuing visas to former members of Nazi and Fascist organizations. In succeeding days, Immigration officials in New York detained on Ellis Island Victor de Sabata, Signora Fedora Barbieri and hundreds of less prominent Italian visitors and immigrants. On October 9, Friedrich Gulda, a visiting Austrian pianist, was added to the Island's growing population. Three days later the State Department ordered a world-wide passport freeze put into effect. All visas had to be revalidated under the Act. Meanwhile, hundreds of other aliens with hitherto valid visas were being stopped by officials while they attempted to prove their backgrounds. Some were let go, others had to stay awaiting action in their cases. The chief of the Ellis Island detention section said that he was getting "minute-to-minute and telephone-call-to-telephone-call instructions from Washington."

The drama of the situation was heightened on October 19 when the Justice Department announced that it would consider Franco's Falange as "totalitarian" for the purposes of the Act. Senator McCarran immediately protested that the law was being enforced with unnecessary strictness. But Senator Ferguson—who also thought so—said that the citing of the Falange was "consistent." In Washington, President Truman and Attorney General McGrath said little more than that the law would be "strictly enforced."

Once it was granted that the Hitler, Mussolini and Franco regimes were to be deemed totalitarian, and since almost all organizations in these countries were state-affiliated, the law would from the start bar just about all their nationals. That was only the beginning of the problem, however. What about Argentina, Saudi Arabia, Yugoslavia? What about Greece under Metaxas, France under the Popular Front, almost any Latin American country at one time or another? Carried to its logical conclusion, full enforcement of the law would have necessitated the Attorney General's drawing up a list of subversive organizations for every country on the earth.

The only discretion officials were left by the new law was the exercise of the "Ninth Proviso" of the old 1918 Immigration Act. Seldom used hitherto, it allows the Attorney General to give special dispensation for ineligible aliens to enter the country. However, it requires review of all cases by State Department and Immigration officials as well as by the Justice Department, which must submit individual reports to Congress on all aliens it so admits. The Ninth Proviso allows only temporary admission and does not help prospective immigrants.

So far, the worst victim of the law appears to be American foreign policy. By hitting willy-nilly at all Germans and Italians, it is striking close to the vital core of our attempt to gain friends and sell democracy in these countries. The elaborate and expensive technical-assistance and exchange-of-persons programs that have been set up for European countries are endangered by the law's static provisions. The people we may want to bring here to convince that the US is not all Jim Crow or Wall Street may be just the ones to be barred by the Act. Professors we should like to have come here on fellowship programs may be hesitant to give up secure positions for an opportunity which may be denied them at Ellis Island.

"EVERYBODY FOR HIMSELF"

The House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities, after a year-long investigation, readily admits that if the full truth were ever known, there is little doubt that lobbying, in all its ramifications, would prove to be a "billion-dollar industry." During the past three and a half years, under the Lobbying Act, organizations have reported expenditures totalling $75 million. The Committee found that this "does not begin to reflect all that is actually collected and spent in efforts to influence legislation." Some notable dodges used by lobby groups were mentioned in the report:

1. Many groups submit only fragmentary reports in which they omit the costs of publications, public relations, and advertising directly related to public issues. (The National Association of Home Builders, for example, has not reported the costs of its public-relations program, which it estimates has aggregated $250,000 in the past few years.)

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2. Some national organizations, such as the National Association of Real Estate Boards, file reports but their state and local adjuncts do not, "this despite the fact that legislative operations on the several levels are inseparably meshed."

3. Organizations often fail to reveal the actual number of persons actively engaged in seeking to influence the governmental process. More than 2,000 persons have registered as lobbyists since 1946, but in many cases these registered lobbyists are merely Washington representatives for national organizations having large, well-paid staffs throughout the country. (The CIO, for example, has only four registered lobbyists, and the AMA only seven.)

4. Because contributions of $500 or more have to be registered, some organizations—the Committee for Constitutional Government, for one—ask contributors to send checks for $490.

The Committee found that "organized business far outspends other interests." Though in 1949 the AMA led all other individual registered organizations by reporting lobbying expenditures of $1.5 million, business and business-supported groups reported total combined disbursements of $4.1 million. Of the 35 organizations which admitted expenditures of more than $50,000 each in 1949, 22 were purely business or trade groups and two others derived almost their entire support from corporate or business contributions. "As the management of this economy has drifted into fewer and fewer hands, so too has pressure on the legislative front been sharply intensified," the report said. To the extent that some groups are better endowed than others, there is a disparity in the pressure which these groups can exert on the policy-making process.

"Those interests with the most to spend for protection have proclaimed 'lobbying for all men' as an almost sacred article of faith," the Committee report says, and adds: "It is not unlike the elephant shouting 'Everybody for himself', as he stomps up and down among the chickens."

The Committee, headed by Rep. Frank Buchanan (D, Pa.), came up with three recommendations aimed at slowing down the growing influence of "tightly organized economic power blocs."

Since "pressures thrive on government when it becomes too complex for ordinary citizens to understand," we should *streamline* and *simplify* the process of government.

Stronger political parties and party discipline are needed, because "if the parties don't accept responsibility the pressure groups will move in by default."

We must strengthen the Lobbying Act by requiring more information on lobbies, since "Congress and the public have a right to know who they are, what they are doing, how much money they are spending, and where the money is coming from."

OREGON MEDICAL MONOPOLY?

The Department of Justice is preparing to appeal to the Supreme Court the Government's case against the Oregon State Medical Society *et al* for conspiring to restrain and monopolize the business of furnishing prepaid medical care in Oregon. On September 28, Judge Claude McColloch of the US District Court of Oregon handed down a cavalier opinion in favor of the doctors' "closed-shop" methods of supplying medical care to individuals and business concerns on a contract basis. The government attorneys searched in vain for the legal basis of his opinion. Instead, they found 14 pages of disconnected notes on everything from "Greek Slaves" to "The Age of the Common Man."

The case, filed in 1948, is an important one because Oregon had led the rest of the country in private insurance medical-care plans until the doctors organized the Oregon Physicians Service in 1936, with a view to monopolizing the prepaid medical-care business in the state. The government charges that the Oregon Physicians Service and allied county organizations sought to "prevent, hinder and obstruct" all other prepaid medical-care organizations, to keep qualified doctors from co-operating with the other groups, and to restrict the use of hospital facilities by doctors taking part in other prepaid plans. As a result, the government claims, "the public has been deprived of a fair and free opportunity to acquire prepaid medical-care insurance from organizations competing with one another in a free market, and doctors have been deprived of an opportunity to practice in Oregon on terms of their own choosing. . . ." The government found such tactics to be in violation of the Clayton and Sherman Acts.

Judge McColloch opened his decision with this statement: "My work as a trial judge does not permit the preparation of a formal opinion in so complex a case. I will state my conclusions on the main issue and then will append some notes made at various stages throughout the trial." Without citing a single legal reference, the Judge held that the doctor-members of the Oregon Physicians Service had not violated the anti-trust laws, that they felt they were being exploited, and that they wanted to maintain their professional standards so "what the doctors did during this period was not a conspiracy," and that they did not restrain use of the hospital facilities. Point by point, Judge McColloch simply exonerated the doctors on all government charges.

Under the heading, "Notes," Judge McColloch has such cogent observations as these:

Fee fixing "activities." This expression is used in the government's brief. Is supervision of fees within a profession unlawful? Barbers do it, bricklayers, beauty operators, milkmen. . . .

Power. The government in Sherman-Act prosecutions is the particular group in charge of the anti-trust department of the Department of Justice at the time, and the type of prosecutions brought in a given era reflect the economic and social views of those in power at that time. Instance: Attempts by Assistant Attorney General [Thurman] Arnold to subject organized labor to the anti-trust laws. . . .

NRA was an interesting aberration. The oil companies pleaded unsuccessfully that they were only doing what they had been encouraged to do under NRA. . . .

Court-made policies. A keen analyst has said the Sherman Act "suffered from bad draftsmanship." That this is a broad field for court-made law was the observation of Judge Learned Hand in the recent New York Communist cases. . . .

Socialized medicine may overtake them but the doctors claim the right to save the profession from socialism. . . .

Slaves. Judge Robert N. Wilkin says Greek slaves were the physicians in Rome.

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To this he attributes the late rise of medicine as a profession, as compared with law. . . .

There is little doubt that the Supreme Court will accept the case on appeal. "After all," one attorney said, "Judge McColloch's notes, as entertaining as they are, can hardly be considered a legal opinion."

US AID FOR IRAN

Long-exploited Iran has become the first beneficiary of the Point Four program. But the $500,000 it is receiving for specific rural-aid programs is little more than a symbol. Premier Ali Razmara will need larger sums and broader programs if the masses of his countrymen are to be able to help the country modernize itself.

Aid from abroad and domestic progress have both been slow in coming. Visitors have compared Iran, with its tight oligarchy of wealthy families and masses of landless peasants, to Kuomintang China. It was not until recently that the US overcame its doubts over the regime's stability to the extent of a $25-million Export-Import Bank loan.

Premier Razmara, however, is having trouble trying to interest his complacent Parliament in even token reform. After admitting that real land reform projects were "premature," he tried to enact a token rent-reduction law, but the Senate rebelled even at that.

Also still pending after two years' negotiations is the new agreement between the government and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company which would double (to $72,800,000) the government's annual revenue from this source. Reformist opponents of the agreement have charged that the revisions do not go far enough in raising revenue or discontinuing the dominant influence British interests now exercise over the country's political and economic life.

Iran epitomizes the dilemma of a strategically vital country and potential Near East power which finds it difficult to live up to its role domestically. American attempts to help remedy the situation will step on toes, both in Iran and elsewhere. Yet it is essential that the energetic pressures US representatives are exerting in countries like Germany and Italy be duplicated on an even broader scope in Iran.

EQUAL EDUCATION

More than 1,000 Negroes are attending classes with white students in Southern colleges and universities this fall, according to a New York *Times* survey. "This situation would have been considered impossible 10 years ago," the *Times* said. "Responsible educators had warned that any breaching of the segregation line would prove dangerous and might even lead to campus or community riots. Today, these same officials report that the Negroes have not disturbed normal collegiate life in any manner."

The *Times* queried 100 representative Southern schools in 17 states which are operating under the dual system of education. A number of the educators polled pointed out that the recent Supreme Court decisions were only partly responsible for admittance of Negro students to white schools. The court's action was applicable only to public institutions, the *Times* said, "yet a growing number of private colleges and universities are enrolling Negroes in their graduate or undergraduate divisions. To the surprise of a number of educators, the reaction as a whole has been good. For the most part, the college presidents report, the white students accept the Negroes without any raising of eyebrows or show of hostility. . . ."

Southern state universities now accepting Negro students include the Universities of Arkansas, Oklahoma, Virginia, Tennessee, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College and the University of Texas. Other institutions include Rockhurst College, the Conservatory of Music and the Art Institute — all in Kansas City — Washington University, St. Louis University, the University of Louisville and three Kentucky undergraduate private colleges—Berea, Nazareth and Bellarmine. The Louisville Municipal College (for Negroes only) is to be closed at the end of the 1950-51 academic year, the *Times* reports, and the qualified Negro students will be admitted to all schools of the University of Louisville at the beginning of the 1951-52 term.

Dr. John W. Taylor, president of the University of Louisville, told the *Times* that reaction of the white students to their Negro classmates has been excellent. But, he said, he found the greatest prejudice among the older generation "in the top economic stratum of our city."

The *Times* study shows that almost without exception the students and the community accept Negroes on the campuses and in the classrooms without incident. Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, says "The attitude of the young white people of the South refutes the claims of the demagogues of that region that the abolition of segregation would mean violence and bloodshed."

FITZPATRICK IN THE ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Your Inflation Is Showing, Uncle

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OUTSIDE AMERICA

The Government of India's four ace statesmen know better than their colleagues in most other countries—Eastern as well as Western—what President Truman meant when he said at San Francisco that Americans "are not strangers to the Far East" and that "our entire history proclaims our policy" of friendship and sympathy for the peoples of Asia. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in India, Benegal Rau at Lake Success, Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan in Moscow and K. M. Panikkar in Peking are all famous scholars, thoroughly aware of the details of the historical background of the relations between Asia and the Western world. They know therefore that the pioneers of American policy in the Far East—men like Samuel Shaw, Caleb Cushing, Townsend Harris and John W. Davis—have a better record than those of any other nation.

They know, too, that the record of the Russians, who were the first Westerners to penetrate China, has been consistently bad. From the reign of John the Dread in the 16th century, from the Treaty of Nerchinsk in 1689 to the Treaty with Li Hung Chang in 1896, from Mouraviev to Borodin and Karakhan, the Russians have been grasping, greedy, domineering imperialists. Radhakrishran (with whom this writer has had direct personal contact) undoubtedly reflects the views of his three Indian colleagues when he questions whether our policy really recognizes (as Truman said) that peace in the Far East "is far more than a military problem." As the Manchester *Guardian* says:

> The Indians do not share the belief of Truman's foreign-policy advisers that the Korean adventure was plotted jointly by Stalin and Mao. They do not believe, either, that Mao will erupt into another Tito. They note first that China has always hated foreigners and that the Russians cannot escape the definition. They remark that many of Mao's chief advisers are not of the Soviet Union. . . . The Indians are inclined to look ahead and say that one day, if there is to be any good day at all, you may have to negotiate with the Russians. But for the present they are pretty sure that it may be possible soon to negotiate very powerfully with Mao.

The trouble with the reasonable talk at Lake Success—the decision of the UN General Assembly to empower General MacArthur to cross the 38th Parallel, for example—is that it seems in the Asiatic view to perpetuate the old rules of vengeance. Thus, the new internationalism takes on overtones of the kind of old internationalism which China knows far too well—the ganging up of Western powers to "impose" so-called "ties of friendship," the capitulations, the treaty ports, the Boxer tribute. And the Soviet aims in China, though no better than Czarist colonial aims, can not be simply labelled bad, as against good for American aims, so long as American "controlism" exists in Japan —the word, little known in America, is laden with resentment in Asia.

The Japanese peace treaty, as planned by the State Department, is relevant. Japan is to be "free" but the Japanese Ryukyu and Bonin Islands are to be given to the United States under a trusteeship similar to the one held by the Japanese over the former German islands. And the word trusteeship can be translated into Chinese, Korean and Japanese only by words used by the Japanese to describe their rule over the Asiatic territories they seized after Pearl Harbor. If this is what Truman meant when he said MacArthur agreed that the problem is more than military, Asiatics like Nehru must believe they understand the American only too well.

The Asians, remembering that atom bombs were used in Asia but not Europe, fear that America may be ready to use Asia as the battleground and the Asiatics as the victims of the final military test of strength with the Russians. Observing not only in South Africa but also in the American Deep South continued denials of racial justice, they fear that they will remain the "lesser" colonials in an economic imperialism disguished as Fourth Pointism. Above all, they still believe that America (as well as the other Western powers) is supporting reaction in Asia, despite Truman's protests to the contrary; and they are waiting to see whether the UN General Assembly or MacArthur will win the battle of Syngman Rhee.

Europeans who have had an opportunity to study Asia's very recent history believe, moreover, that formal diplomatic recognition of Mao's China must—if relations with the East are to be put on a sound basis—be accompanied by recognition that China has a chance of steering between Russian Communism and Western democracy. The Manchester *Guardian* says:

> The Chinese Government has thus far in the past year pursued a very moderate policy. There is the chance, though not the certainty, that it will continue to do so. . . . The government has tried no drastic socialization of the economy. . . . A government dominated by Communists is encouraging free enterprise by subsidies, by large-scale government orders, and by tax concessions. . . . In the last 12 months there has been a surprising change in land reform. The "rich" owner-cultivators, formerly marked for destruction like the landlords, are now to be protected and encouraged. It has been stated that the present reform is more or less permanent. It is not intended that it should lead on to collectivization of farming, as happened in Russia. These decisions may deflect the whole future of the Chinese revolution. . . . Land reform is creating a very large class of peasants who will no longer have grievances against landlords and who will have a stake in the country. . . . They will be conservative: the more so because most Chinese are conservative by temperament.

If these judgments are accurate—and the *Guardian* has an excellent history of accuracy in such matters—they confirm the view of India's scholar-statesmen that American policy in Asia will succeed in proportion as it does *not* use the Chinese as pawns in the culminating duel of American and Russian history in the Far East, but instead helps the new internationalism slough off the faults of the old and really permits China to "develop according to its own particular genius."

PERCY WINNER

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TWO ARMIES OR ONE?

by Jean Begeman

FOR THOSE IN the military who have questioned the feasibility of integrating Negro and white soldiers, the Korean war has been an education. The Army learned again, as it had during World War II, that color lines fade in the harsh light of combat. When the conflict began, the Army, despite the reservations of some top officials, sent the 24th Infantry Regiment, primarily composed of Negro troops, to Korea. In addition, several groups of Negro service troops were sent over—all, of course, on a segregated basis, since the Army has failed to follow the example of the Navy and Air Force in carrying out President Truman's request for complete equality of treatment and opportunity in the Armed Forces. It is now a matter of record that the Negro troops of the 24th Infantry provided the first offensive of our soldiers early in the Korean campaign, at the battle of Yuchon, following their great efforts on Black Mountain, west of Haman. Other units were unable to accomplish what depleted companies of the fighting 24th did.

As our troops pushed their way back up the peninsula, Negro and white officers and men were fighting together. Military expediency would alone have called for complete integration of troops. Official and unofficial reports started arriving at the Pentagon—testimonials to the efficient and courageous action of Negroes joined to white troops in front-line combat. A Negro Captain reported to a Pentagon official:

> I think I can safely say the record of our unit is such that all Negroes will always be proud of it. . . . We spearheaded the drive back to the Nantong River, reducing the enemy salient, that occurred on August 31. The upshot of it all is that we now have Negro soldiers in every company (*assigned*). . . . We also have Negro officers in some of the companies leading all-white and mixed platoons. . . . How long the companies will remain mixed, I don't know, but it is a fact now, and I hope it continues.
>
> Our men are good fighters. Some of the acts of bravery are hard to describe and will go unrecorded. . . . It certainly has made me feel warm inside to be a part of it, and witness our men refuting the "Doubting Thomases." . . .

The casualty lists of Negro soldiers who were killed, wounded and missing in Korea are far exceeding their ratio in numbers, either to the general population (10 percent) or to the ratio to the Armed Forces as a whole, estimated to be between four and five percent. Army policy-makers are aware of this, as they are of the increasing number of recommendations by white and Negro officers for heroism awards for Negro soldiers.

Another Captain on the Korean front recently wrote a Defense Department official:

> The 24th and the 9th Infantry Regiments are doing very well and the [Negro] service troops are slowly but surely gaining the spotlight for a job well done. Incidentally, I wrote some time ago about two Negro Sergeants, one from Florida, who had been integrated into the 24th division. . . . Well, today G-1 called me and said that Sergeant ——— has been recommended for the Distinguished Service Cross. That should end the "raised eyebrow" and "tongue-in-cheek" advocates. The boys are really doing well.

While Negro soldiers were thus distinguishing themselves in Korea, Raymond Pace Alexander, prominent Negro attorney of Philadelphia, was visiting our occupation forces in Germany as a civilian observer. Mr. Alexander has now embodied his findings in a report to Defense Secretary Marshall on segregation policies in the Army of Occupation. Unfortunately, Alexander's report has received almost no publicity. Because of the news of Negro conduct in Korea, however, the Defense Department is giving Alexander's recommendation unexpectedly serious consideration.

> It will be recalled [Alexander said] that during the bitterest and most tragic hours of the Korean campaign, white troops were sent in as replacements for the Negro troops who suffered such heavy death and wounding in those frightful days. They fought together, they slept together, they died together as heroic Americans . . . 9,000 miles away from their homeland, for a democracy that they did not fully enjoy on their native soil.

Our Army in Germany—consisting of approximately 92,000 men, 8,000 of whom are Negro—is still operated on a completely segregated basis. The only exception, Alexander points out, is in the field of sports. In Mannheim, Germany, he witnessed the "GI World Series" between the Heidelberg "Hawks" and the Munich "Broncos." At least 12 players on each of the 20-man teams were Negroes, including the star pitchers for both. Alexander recommended that the absence of discrimination or racial separation in sports be carried over into every segment of army life, "if we are to make a living reality of the directives of President Truman and the Secretary of Defense and the report of the Committee on Equality in the Army Services. . . ."

Alexander urged that the Army re-establish the 24th Infantry on an integrated basis when the Korean crisis

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ends, that it continue to send Negro enlisted men to all the occupation areas in the world defense program, that it integrate them in all branches on a non-segregated basis, and that it upgrade deserving Negro officers. (Only one Negro has ever reached the rank of General. Today there are only six Negro Colonels on active duty and only about 20 Lieutenant Colonels.)

In his report to General Marshall, Alexander warned against maintaining two separate American armies in Europe or elsewhere—one white, the other Negro—especially in view of our plan to organize one great army of democracy in Europe among all of the nations of the North Atlantic Pact and the remaining free democracies in Western Europe. "This would be a monstrous blunder," he said, "one quickly to be used by Russia in their racial propaganda being daily spread among the more than a billion yellow and brown people of China, India and the East Indian archipelago."

During his travels, Alexander said, Burgomeisters and other office-holders of little towns and villages in Germany, as well as French and English civilians, frequently questioned him about the Army's segregation policy in relation to the philosophy of democracy. He found it "indefensible" to "proclaim one's leadership in world affairs and at the same time send as representatives of our democratic way of life some 90,000 soldiers to Germany . . . separated on the sole basis of color of the skin. American democracy will be a myth as long as racial segregation is tolerated."

It is for Gen. George Marshall now to establish the equality in Germany that the experience in Korea so obviously justifies.

THE SAD CASE OF HAROLD STASSEN

by Arthur J. Graham

THE NIGHT BEFORE the Wake Island meeting of President Truman and General MacArthur, Harold Stassen went on the air with a speech advising the President to place himself in the hands of the General with respect to American foreign policy throughout the entire Far East. One is reminded of the famous lines from *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage:*

> Childe Harold basked him in the noontide sun,
> Disporting there like any other fly,
> Nor deem'd before his little day was done
> One blast might chill him into misery.

Since this is an election year, it would probably be considered charitable (by Republicans, at least) to view Mr. Stassen's remarks as an instance of what Wendell Willkie, in an excess of candor, once called "campaign oratory." What is overlooked in such a gloss, however, is the fact that all forms of "campaign oratory," no matter how insincere they may be, assume for their success that some people (the more the better) will accept what is said in all seriousness. It must be concluded, therefore, that Mr. Stassen hoped a significant number of Americans would agree with his proposals of October 16.

The implications of the Stassen proposals go far beyond the importance of the present political campaign. They are, in fact, the measure of Stassen as a potential statesman and a significant indication of the kind of thinking going on in at least one wing of the Republican Party. The proposals are therefore worth examining.

Stassen wants the President to:

1. Accept General MacArthur's advice in Asia and in the Western Pacific.
2. Accept General MacArthur's advice as to the United States' position in the United Nations with reference to Communist China.
3. Accept General MacArthur's advice as to the United States' position in the United Nations on the question of Formosa.
4. Accept General MacArthur's advice as to the United States' position with reference to Indo-China.
5. Place General MacArthur *in supreme command of* American military policy and interests in all of the Asiatic-Pacific area and . . . follow his advice . . . [My italics. – A. J. G.]

It is clear that Mr. Stassen would not confine General MacArthur's functions to merely military matters. For in addition to the very broad implications of item five above, he also says:

> From such action there would rapidly develop a MacArthur Plan for Asia, which would do for that vast and important area and for its billions of peoples the parallel of what the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact have done for Europe.

So President Truman is to turn over to one of his Generals full authority for formulating and executing not only US military policy for the Far East but US foreign policy in that area as well.

Mr. Stassen has been—and may again be—a candidate for the Presidency of this country. As an intelligent and informed American he cannot fail to be aware that the American Constitution makes it perfectly clear that the

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President is the Commander-in-Chief of all our military forces and is also responsible for the formulation and conduct of foreign policy. The clarity of these sections of the Constitution is unmistakable. The rationale behind them (maintenance of civilian control over the military; the establishment of a unitary authority in the conduct of foreign policy) is well known; their importance to the preservation of Constitutional processes has rarely been questioned. Yet Mr. Stassen brazenly urges that the President unconstitutionally delegate these powers to one of his generals.

There can be no doubt as to his meaning, for he is quite explicit:

Stassen deplores the fact that, following the Japanese surrender, Truman made it clear that the formulation of occupation policy did not lie within MacArthur's discretion. (In fact, the Administration had to remind the General that he would have to continue taking his orders from his Commander-in-Chief!)

Stassen deplores the fact that in December, 1945, MacArthur was not consulted about the Moscow Conference on Far Eastern decisions.

Stassen deplores the fact that on August 26 of this year MacArthur was summarily told to withdraw his message to the VFW containing his views on US military strategy in the Pacific.

"Great soldier and statesman and patriot that he is," says Stassen, MacArthur "overlooked all of these things without ever complaining."

Indeed he did. And why? Because General MacArthur is no more ignorant of the US Constitution than is Harold Stassen. He knew perfectly well that in each instance mentioned by Stassen his intrusion into the field of foreign policy was actually a bold attempt to usurp the powers of the Chief Executive. Having failed in his attempts he likewise knew he had no ground for complaint.

As a soldier, MacArthur's place in history is secure. Few will deny he ranks among the greatest. And Truman in his San Francisco report on the Wake Island conference made clear his admiration for MacArthur the soldier. Yet there can be little doubt that MacArthur has been discontented with the limitations of the soldier's position under the US Constitutional system. His constant forays into the field of foreign policy and his abortive candidacy for the Republican nomination for President in 1948 indicate both a fundamental restlessness of spirit and an impatience with the advice of his superiors. Similarly, his decidedly patronizing attitude toward the Allied Council for Japan and his tendency toward publicly ignoring the Allied policy-making Far Eastern Commission, while in most cases scrupulously implementing their decisions, are further indications of his dissatisfaction with advice or direction from outside his own Headquarters.

A yearning for the status of a Roman consul has flavored MacArthur's conduct of the Japanese occupation, if not the conduct of his entire military career. The following quotation from a speech by Lucius Amelius Paulus, a Roman consul selected to lead the war against Macedonia, was reported during 1948 to be hanging framed on the wall of MacArthur's office in Tokyo:

> In every circle and truly at every table there are people who . . . know when and through what pass that territory should be entered . . . when it is proper to engage the enemy, when to lie quiet. And they not only determine what is best to be done, but if anything is done in any manner . . . they arraign the consul, as if he were on trial before them. . . .
>
> If, therefore, anyone thinks himself qualified to give advice respecting the war which I am to conduct, which may prove advantageous to the public, let him not refuse his assistance to the state, but let him come with me into Macedonia. He shall be furnished with a ship, a horse, a tent, even his travelling charges shall be defrayed. But if he thinks this too much trouble, and prefers the repose of city life to the toils of war, let him not, on land, assume the office of a pilot. The city, in itself, furnishes abundance of topics for conversation; let it confine its passion for talking within its own precincts, and rest assured that we shall pay no attention to any councils but such as shall be framed within our camp.

Yes, MacArthur has always yearned for a bigger role, a broader stage, a more extensive production for the exercise of his many talents than his military status alone provides. It is, in a way, a commendable ambition. For it suggests that the pinnacle of military achievement by itself may be insufficient satisfaction for the mature citizen of a democratic society.

But what are we to think when this ambition is permitted to seek its fulfillment through means incompatible with the preservation of our Constitutional system? We are forced, I fear, to the conclusion that in such persons amibition exceeds political maturity; that in such persons the moral fibre which Americans demand in their top statesmen is simply not there.

In going to the people with his proposals of October 16, Stassen has placed himself on record as favoring procedures inconsistent with both the letter and the spirit of the American Constitution. In so doing, he has gone a long way toward disqualifying himself as a candidate for the Presidency. His effort to put Mr. Tru-

"Arthur J. Graham" is a pseudonym employed by a seasoned observer of national politics living in Washington.

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man on the spot at Wake Island may well turn out to be, as Byron said of Childe Harold, the one blast to "chill him into misery."

For if we assume that Stassen himself believes wholeheartedly in what he said, he is disqualified on the grounds either of ignorance or of a deliberate intent to subvert Constitutional processes. If, on the other hand, we assume he does not believe what he said, he is disqualified for engaging in arrant demagoguery.

It will be to the everlasting credit of Harry Truman that he has steadfastly refused to let himself be bullied by unprincipled political opponents into actions detrimental to the American Constitutional system. More power to him!

THE MEANING OF THE ELECTIONS

by Louis H. Bean

NO MATTER how this election goes you will hear a hundred and one reasons given for what happened. You will hear that it was due to turnout, to a variety of charges and countercharges about domestic and foreign policies. You will be told that the election marks something or other about the political tide that is bound to affect the 1952 Presidential election, and you will hear all sorts of explanations why this or that Senatorial race was clinched by the winners, an assortment of reasons that would fill a large shelf in any metropolitan museum of political history.

What will you do with all of these conflicting explanations? How will you judge whether it was a large vote or a small one that turned the trick? Whether the drives to get out the vote were successful or not? Whether the gains or losses in the House and Senate are more or less than normal for a mid-term election? Whether the Democratic tide that started to rise after the 1946 election is still high in November? Whether your favorite Senator lost his seat because of mid-term apathy or retained it by astute campaigning?

These questions may not cause sleepless nights but in case they do, let me give you a few statistical formulas which may prove helpful.

The first three are national in scope and will aid you to judge the meaning of the new complexion of Congress; the others have to do with selected state elections symptomatic of the trends in the Northeast, the Ohio Valley and the Farm Belt. They are bound to be featured in election post-mortems.

The Size of the Vote. There is now a well-founded tradition, less well-founded in Republican than in Democratic circles, that a small mid-term vote means fewer Democrats voting; therefore, a small Democratic percentage. And where the Democratic percentage falls to less than half of the two-party vote, you of course have an unemployed Democrat, and a Republican elected to Congress.[1] While well-founded, that tradition does not mean that size of turnout is all-determining.

An election trend, like a business trend, is the result of many factors—business conditions, issues, personalities and even campaign tricks and stunts. But turnout is important as a measure of political interest and you need at least the over-all figures to judge whether voters in 1950 were as abysmally apathetic as in 1942, as confused as in 1946, as fully alive as in 1936 and 1940, or only moderately interested, as in 1948. Here are the figures on voting for Representatives in recent mid-term as well as Presidential elections that portray these several degrees of interest.

VOTES CAST FOR MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, 1936-1950

Presidential Years		*Mid-Term Years*	
Year	Millions	Year	Millions
1936	43	1938	36
1940	47	1942	28
1944	45	1946	34
1948	46	1950	?

Some facts are obvious in this national voting record. You see at a glance that in mid-term years there is less voting interest; a drop of seven million in 1938, 19 million in 1942 (a war year) and 11 million in 1946 (a year of post-war political confusion). If you rule out 1942 and 1946 as non-typical, you may be misled into deducting seven million (the 1938 experience) from the 1948 total of 46 million, thus concluding that a total vote of close to 40 million would be about normal for 1950.

That would be the correct procedure if the 1948 vote of 46 million were the right starting point, but it isn't. As a matter of fact, had voting interest continued to rise after reaching a record in 1940, as it had risen in the 1920s and 1930s, the total Congressional vote

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[1] This tradition is very well portrayed and documented in Mr. Bean's current book, "The Mid-Term Battle," Cantillon Books, $2.50 cloth, $1 paper. – THE EDITORS.

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in 1948 would have been about 56 million. There were, in other words, 10 million "lost" voters in 1948 who weren't enough interested in the major candidates to go to the polls. Therefore, to get at the "normal" vote for 1950, you should deduct the seven million, or perhaps eight, from the hypothetical 56 million instead of the actual vote of 46 million in 1948. That takes you to the interesting conclusion that a "normal" mid-term vote for 1950 would be at least as large as the number of votes cast in the 1948 Presidential election! That is the figure for measuring the effectiveness of this year's political action to get out the vote.

The Political Tide in the House. For the sake of simplicity, let's define the political tide as the rise and fall in the number of Democrats elected to the House. And let's take a look at its course from the time it reached its last peak, in 1936.

NUMBER OF DEMOCRATS ELECTED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, 1936-1950

Presidential Years		*Mid-Term Years*	
1936	333	1938	262
1940	267	1942	222
1944	243	1946	188
1948	263	1950	?

If you merely observe that the Democrats elected 71 fewer candidates to the House in 1938, 45 fewer in 1942, and 55 fewer in 1946 than in previous Presidential years, you are likely to get an exaggeration of the normal mid-term losses for the party in power. In the first place, neither 1946 nor 1942 was a normal mid-term year. Nor was 1938, for in that year a sharp downturn in the Democratic tide, aided by a business recession and several other factors, was responsible for the first marked New Deal losses. A closer examination of these figures, including the complete record of the political tide from 1928 to 1948, indicates that the normal difference between mid-term and Presidential year results in the House is about six or seven percent of the total membership of 435, or a loss of 25 to 30 seats for the party in power.

Should you deduct 25 to 30 seats from the Democratic 1948 total of 263, or should you start with a higher figure, a hypothetical one, say 283 (the number that Democrats might have elected had the 10 million "lost" voters participated)? Starting with the latter figure would indicate that a normal mid-term election in 1950 could just about produce the same essential two-party balance as in the 81st Congress. But, if the same degree of voter apathy prevails as in 1948, the Democrats would "normally" be expected to lose 25 to 30 seats.

The Political Tide in the Senate. To establish what is normal for mid-term Senatorial elections is somewhat more complicated than establishing a norm for the House. In the present election there are 22 Democratic and 14 Republican seats to be filled, four more than the usual 32. How many of these Senatorial races the Democrats would normally win can be judged from the course of the political tide in the House.

The comparison for recent Presidential election years is as follows:

NUMBER OF DEMOCRATIC REPRESENTATIVES AND SENATORS ELECTED IN PRESIDENTIAL YEARS

Year	*Representatives*	*Senators*
1940	267	21
1944	243	21
1948	263	23

The following comparison for recent mid-term elections is more to the point and more consistent:

NUMBER OF DEMOCRATIC REPRESENTATIVES AND SENATORS ELECTED IN MID-TERM YEARS

Year	*Representatives*	*Senators*
1938	262	23
1942	222	15
1946	188	11
1950	?	?

Note that in 1938, and again in 1948, when 262 and 263 Democrats were elected, the same number of Democratic Senatorial candidates won out, 23. But as the Democratic tide in the House declined to 188 in 1946, the Senatorial tide declined to 11. We have already noted that with a full turnout of 48 million voters, the Democrats could about hold their present membership in the House. This may also be said for the Senate but, if in the House they were to suffer a loss of 25 to 30 seats due to apathy of 1948 proportions and elect about 235 to 240 of their House candidates, 18 or 19 Democratic Senators would normally also make the grade—as suggested by the 1938 and 1942 experience. This would mean a net loss of three or four Senators. Anything more than that would need to be attributed to abnormal factors beyond the effect of a voting shortage as large as the 10 million of 1948.

So much for the basic figures on the size of the vote and the membership in the House and Senate. Similar norms can be set up for a number of the key states. Let's take examples in just three areas of different trends in

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recent elections, Connecticut, Ohio and Iowa, to see if we can discover what to expect on the basis of traditional background, and how to measure whether voting in 1950 will depart from traditional voting.

CONNECTICUT VOTING RECORD

Year	Number of Votes Cast 1,000s	Democratic Percentage For House Percent	Democratic Percentage For Senate Percent	Number of Representatives Elected Democrats	Number of Representatives Elected Republicans
1940	781	53	54	6	0
1942	560	48	—	0	6
1944	825	51	52	4	2
1946	674	43	42	0	6
1948	921	50+	—	3	3
1950	?	?	?	?	?

The traditional mid-term political pattern for Connecticut would lead us to expect a falling off in voting, a decline in the Democratic House percentage to perhaps, 47 or 48, and similar percentages, within a point or so, for the Senatorial and gubernatorial elections. In 1944 Sen. Brien McMahon had a one-point margin over the Democratic ticket and in 1950 Gov. Chester Bowles received a shade over 50 percent of the vote, the same as the average vote for the six Democratic Congressional candidates. It would be in line with the traditional mid-term pattern if Connecticut lost one, two or all three of its Democrats in the House and one or both of its Senators.

OHIO VOTING RECORD

Year	Number of Votes Cast 1,000s	Democratic Percentage For House Percent	Democratic Percentage For Senate Percent	Number of Representatives Elected Democrats	Number of Representatives Elected Republicans
1940	3,078	50+	48	12	12
1942	1,735	44	—	3	20
1944	2,954	47	—50	6	17
1946	2,217	43	43	4	19
1948	2,809	52	—	12	11
1950	?	?	?	?	?

The traditional mid-term pattern of voting in Ohio would call for a falling off in voting in 1950, but from a larger total than in 1948; perhaps, from 3.5 million instead of 2,809,000, and the falling off would not be as great as that of 1942 or 1946. The Democratic percentage of the vote, contrary to that for Connecticut, shows a marked uptrend for 1948. If that were to prevail this year, the vote normally would either divide about evenly between the two parties, or would go 48 percent Democratic and 52 percent Republican. In either case Senator Taft, who had lost ground between 1938 and 1944, would (traditionally speaking) be expected to be nosed out, since in 1944 he ran 2.5 points behind the other Republican candidates.

Assuming a continuation of the recent uptrend in the number of Democratic Representatives in Ohio (from three in 1942 to four in 1946; from six in 1944 to twelve in 1948), the normal expectation for 1950 would still be a Democratic loss of two or three seats.

IOWA VOTING RECORD

Year	Number of Votes Cast 1,000s	Democratic Percentage For House Percent	Democratic Percentage For Senate Percent	Number of Representatives Elected Democrats	Number of Representatives Elected Republicans
1940	1,115	45	—	2	7
1942	665	38	42	0	8
1944	973	43	49	0	8
1946	593	39	—	0	8
1948	940	45	58	0	8
1950	?	?	?	?	?

The traditional mid-term pattern in Iowa would call for a marked falling off in voting, but from a much larger total than in 1948, with the decline not as great as in 1942 and 1946. A normal 1950 vote in Iowa would be close to the number cast in 1948. Thus the Democrats would cast about 45 percent of that number, as they did in the 1948 Congressional elections. The Democrats would not necessarily capture any of the eight House districts, but Loveland could come close to defeating Senator Hickenlooper, who ran about five points behind the Republican ticket for the House in 1944.

Since space will not permit additional sketches for other key states in this year's election, we conclude with these generalizations:

1. A normal mid-term election for 1950 would mean a turnout of about 48 to 49 million votes and a Democratic-Republican balance in the next House and Senate about the same as in the 81st Congress. This would indicate the Democratic uptrend of 1946-48 is still on.

2. A turnout relatively as light as that of 1948 normally would result in Democratic losses of 25 to 30 seats in the House and three to four seats in the Senate. This would mean that nationally the Democrats were holding their 1948 ground.

3. Losses greater than these would raise the question as to whether they were due to abnormal, temporary factors as in 1946, or to the beginning of a Republican tide.

4. For differences in regional trends, watch the results in the three typical states, Connecticut, Ohio and Iowa. If in Connecticut the Democrats drop no more than two percentage points below 1948 (50 to 48); if in Ohio they drop no more than four or five points (from 52 to 47-48), and if in Iowa they drop no more than five points (from 45 to 40), we can say that the Democratic tide, having turned up after 1946, is still up.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *Henry L. Stimson*

WHEN HENRY L. STIMSON died recently, the United States lost one of its greatest citizens of all time. He possessed ability, character, loyalty and patriotism. When called upon to serve his country, as he frequently was, he never failed to put into the important task assigned to him all that he had to give.

After the First World War, he came back from France as a Colonel. Later, at the instance of Theodore Roosevelt, he left a large and growing law practice to become United States District Attorney for the Southern District of New York. In 1912, after serving as Secretary of War under President Taft, he felt that it was his duty to support his chief during that campaign, despite his admiration and affection for Theodore Roosevelt. Still later, he served as Governor General of the Philippines and Secretary of State under President Hoover.

As Secretary of State, Mr. Stimson was well ahead of the other statesmen of his generation. With understanding of its significance, he followed the invasion of Manchuria by Japan, and in the effort to restrain that restless and warlike country, he sought the co-operation of Sir John Simon, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the British Cabinet. If Sir John had had the vision of Henry Stimson, Great Britain and the US might have agreed that Japanese aggression in Asia should be checked; with these two powers standing firmly together, Japan, at that stage, would scarcely have dared to continue its plan of conquest. Unfortunately for America and for the peace of the world, neither the British Government nor President Hoover would follow Stimson in foreign policy at a time when his leadership was uniquely needed.

Hoover was an isolationist and extreme pacifist. Moreover, he did not like the British. As to the Chinese and other Asiatics, having himself been an exploiter of cheap Chinese labor, Hoover presumably regarded them generally as distinctly third- or fourth-rate human beings. No one can insist that there would have been no Second World War if Hoover had accepted Stimson's advice, but it is not unlikely. It is at least arguable that by what we did, we were inviting that terrible holocaust. We not only permitted Japan to arm, but helped in that arming by supplying indispensable gasoline and scrap iron. Here was a clear instance of indifference to the preparation for war by Japan, one that represented actual connivance with Japan in building up her great army and navy which, when Hitler was ready to invade Poland, were poised for the attack on Pearl Harbor.

After divesting himself of the incredible Harry Woodring as Secretary of War, it was incumbent upon President Roosevelt to select his successor as soon as possible. That I was under consideration for the Secretaryship of War I learned from President Roosevelt's own lips. I was not an applicant, either directly or indirectly, for this important post, and I knew, before the selection of Stimson for War and Frank Knox for Navy was announced, that the war job would not be tendered to me. Mrs. Ickes and I were enjoying a brief relaxation of one week in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in July of 1940 when word came to me of the appointment of Stimson and Knox. This announcement, on the eve of the Republican National Convention, elicited stupid, unworthy objections from men high in the Republican Party, as well as from certain Democratic Senators, who today are probably ashamed of their strident outcries. As for me, I immediately telegraphed, in all sincerity, to the President that he could have made no better appointments. Nor could he. As a matter of fact, I was one of the first, if not the first, in the Administration to suggest the availability of Frank Knox to be Secretary of the Navy. This was shortly after the 1936 Presidential Convention.

Stimson was already an elder statesman when he was sworn in for the second time as Secretary of War; but what he lacked in physical energy, he more than made up in experience and mental steadfastness. He was never one to be stampeded into hasty action. He had balance. With him, it was not so much the first bullets to be fired that counted as the later ones. He was able to take the long view and build up the strength of the Army to its highest possible striking point in American history, while tenaciously holding the ground that had already been won. He could keep even the most arrogant brass hats in their proper place. When Stimson was Secretary of War no one doubted who sat in the driver's seat any more than any one could doubt that he kept sight of the main objective, which was to defeat first Hitler and then Hirohito. If his advice that we could not hold the Philippines had been followed, the course of the war in the Pacific might have been different—and better.

Henry L. Stimson, the man, is gone but Stimson Mountain in the Rockies, climbed by him in his robust youth, remains as a symbol of rugged strength and towering majesty to impress future generations of Americans.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

CABIN'D, CRIBB'D, CONFINED AND BRED IN DARKNESS

by James R. Newman

IT DOES NOT detract from the merit of this book that the follies it exposes are overshadowed by more recent follies. Walter Gellhorn's study deals with the freedom of science, the steps that have been taken in the name of national security to curtail this freedom, and the consequences. His book was published in the same week that

SECURITY, LOYALTY AND SCIENCE, by Walter Gellhorn (Cornell University Press; $3).

personal freedom in this country suffered a fresh encroachment compared to which the special curbs imposed on scientists may appear of secondary importance. Congress, in panic, having passed a bill establishing both concentration camps and thought control, scientists and Communists may console themselves with the thought that attentions of the state, once reserved for them exclusively, will now be shared by others.

Tens of thousands of scientists, physicians, engineers, technicians are today either in federal employ or engaged in federally-supported research in university and industry. The government spends more than a billion dollars annually for this purpose. Some of these activities are of a military and secret nature; many are not. Yet on all the men and women engaged in these indispensable activities, whether or not secret, the government has seen fit, in the name of security, to impose restrictions more extensive, and in many instances more severe, than those laid on other government workers. Why scientists have thus been singled out, and what effect these "gradual and silent encroachments"—to use Madison's phrase—are having on their labors and personal lives, is made clear in Gellhorn's study.

His emphasis is on the practical consequences of the government's policy. An able advocate, he presents facts and arguments which may strike even those who are not concerned with the broad and ethical principles involved in the maintenance of liberty. Has the nation's safety been promoted or impaired by the government's security and loyalty programs? Are we stronger as a result of "classifying" large areas of scientific information so that no vital data will find their way into the briefcases of spies? Or are we weaker because, as a result of this secrecy, none of these data find their way into the heads of our students? Have we averted disaster by screening scientists applying for government posts, testing them as to political opinion, motives, associations, sympathies and the like, or would the foundations of the Republic have remained secure had non-conformists been permitted to work in the Fish and Wildlife Service, at the National Institute of Health or even at Oak Ridge? In sum, are our security policies consistent with what de Tocqueville called "self-interest rightly understood," or simply stupid as well as obnoxious? Gellhorn's major contribution is to bring together in a skillful brief a mass of scattered legal, political, social and scientific evidence not only to support the proposition that freedom of science is indispensable for the moral survival of our society, but to show that the secrecy, security and loyalty policies pursued today increasingly frustrate the progress of science and thereby weaken the nation.

The secrecy policies of the Atomic Energy Commission, the armed services and certain other government departments are notoriously inept. The situation is worse now than at the height of the war and there is no prospect of improvement. In many government offices almost any piece of paper with marks on it is regarded as secret. This is understandable in an atmosphere of perpetual dread: there is no danger of losing one's job for "over-classifying." Since scientific research of any description may conceivably have military implications, one hears it proposed that "virtually all learning should be kept within this country's boundaries lest it enhance the war potential of some other power." While this is not the general basis of policy, it represents an attitude coloring many official actions.

The "compartmentalization" practices initiated during the war by the military have been continued by the Atomic Energy Commission and other departments. Although official historians of the various wartime research programs have unanimously condemned the practice—Gellhorn cites several disgraceful examples of its hampering effect on scientific investigations during the war—and it is admitted even by the Atomic Energy Commission that fragmentation of knowledge retards research, there are apparently no high officials with courage enough to abolish the system. It must be remembered that both compartmentalization and secrecy may be used to stifle inconvenient criticism, conceal blunders and avoid embarrassing disclosures, purposes which, as Gellhorn shows, the Atomic Energy Commission and other government departments keep firmly in mind.

The objective consequences of secrecy in science are a formidable indictment of prevailing policies. The facts and the opinions of authorities cited by Gellhorn admit of no reasonable doubt that the damage a dozen Fuchses and Alan Nunn Mays could inflict on the nation's military strength is insignificant compared with the military and non-military loss sustained from present practices. Yet even this judgment underestimates the full effects of secrecy, not to speak of the government's security and loyalty procedures. Since science is an activity conducted by human beings, one may infer that the treatment accorded to scientists

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will to a considerable extent determine the quality of their research. Observe, therefore, how the government treats the men and women on whom science depends.

First, as to secrecy. Its psychological effect undeniably has been to discourage the exchange of ideas and freedom of intercourse essential to intellectual development. To be sure, the Atomic Energy Commission encourages its workers to attend scientific meetings; on the other hand they are reminded, quite needlessly I should think, that at such gatherings they are not to mingle freely with their colleagues but are to converse, if at all, only with fellow Pharisees—*i.e.*, those who "know the secrets" and, of course, share the same "compartment."

In this connection, the Commission's Office of Security and Intelligence has promulgated an interesting precautionary doctrine, which, though itself rational under the prevailing circumstances, demonstrates vividly the disastrous result of extending the military concept of "sealed orders" to a field of investigation in which the exchange of information is vital to the continued growth of knowledge itself. It is expressed in AEC Security Pamphlet No. 2 (1948), *Taking a Chance*, which grimly tells the story of a man who, after working briefly in one of the secret laboratories, had written a monograph which might have "revealed to an enquiring mind secrets that might be of value to another nation." "Possibly," the pamphleteer adds, "he reasoned that because the authorities at Oak Ridge had removed all secret data from his notebooks, he was completely free to use in any way everything that remained. He forgot, of course, that they had not excised his memory, and that everything he wrote might be *flavored* [my italics] by that memory."

The "flavor" doctrine, it should be realized, is not intended merely to hush up the novices, or in any case is not thus restricted in practice. Take a single example. Enrico Fermi admitted recently that in teaching his course in nuclear physics at the University of Chicago he feels compelled, for fear of being asked questions which he could not lawfully answer, to withhold from his students all information relating to the "background of work in atomic energy." "Now I do not think," he added, "my lectures would have been extremely effective, but there you have some fifty boys or so who have lost that chance to acquire training in atomic energy problems." With federal research jobs already unattractive to many scientists because (as pointed out in the report of the President's Scientific Research Board) of the concentration on military subjects, with secrecy congealing the interchange of scientific ideas and retarding both recruitment and training of young scientists, it is not surprising that capable men are slow to try for permanent government posts, that university scientists are reluctant to participate in classified work, and that government laboratories, though magnificently equipped, able to pay the highest salaries and in desperate need of fresh minds, find it difficult even to enlist mediocrities.

Second, as to the effects of security clearance and loyalty examinations. No one today can get a job in government, or hold the one he has, until he has been investigated by the FBI. That the government should have the right to keep its service free from spies, saboteurs, felons and incompetents is self-evident. And long before present policies were instituted, there was ample statutory authority to achieve these ends. But the offenses and the types of "derogatory information" now serving as criteria for federal employment or dismissal go far beyond the limits of reasonable prudence, not to say decency. The Atomic Energy Commission, for instance, lists the following among matters which would "ordinarily warrant a denial of clearance": "sympathetic interest" or "sympathetic associations" (*e.g.*, in or with bad men or bad ideas); living at the same premises or "frequently communicating" with "friends, relatives or other persons who have subversive interests or associations"; "having *formerly* had close association with such friends, relatives or other persons, now interrupted by distance but *perhaps likely to be renewed* in the future." Similar criteria hold in the Defense Department, the Central Intelligence Agency and other "sensitive" departments. As evidence of the fact that it is a reputation for non-conformist ideas or heretical friends that gets a government scientist or other employee into trouble, there is the testimony of the former chairman of the Defense Department's security and loyalty review board "that virtually every matter which has come before the board since April, 1948, has been an 'associations' case." Even if no ideological "deviations" are charged against a person, and there is no evidence of habitual drunkenness, homosexuality, or a demonstrable tendency to babble, he may be dismissed peremptorily when the head of the agency regards the action as "warranted by the demands of national security."

Loyalty, as might be expected, turns out to be a hard thing to define. However, the problem has been solved by defining disloyalty, this stratagem resembling the method of defining colic as "the thing you know your baby hasn't got when he stops crying." With loyalty, as with security, what can hang a man is whom he knows and what some informant thinks he thinks or says he said rather than what he has done. It is not required, in proving disloyalty, to show actual "association"; it is enough, as the cases of a number of scientists have shown, to have one's name appear on the mailing list of an organization on the Attorney General's Index Prohibitorum. To exhibit undue sympathy for Negroes, Jews and other minority groups has also led officials to become suspicious and to demand an explanation of this curious behavior. It is disturbing to learn that official guardians of the Republic's safety regard a gift of money to the United Jewish Appeal as showing "sympathy for the underdog" and therefore evidence of a "propensity" toward disloyalty and subversion; that to have parents born abroad makes a scientist eligible for the accolade of "potential risk"; that to have communicated with the late Brig. Gen. Evans F. Carlson (to get his comments in connection with scientific experiments on fatigue and motion sickness) is

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thought to be a fact relevant to a scientist's ideological "reliability."

The government spends millions of dollars each year in testing its employees for disloyalty, and it is an activity requiring the most complex machinery of investigation, trial and appeal. There is tier upon tier of boards, committees, panels, review tribunals. There is a small army of examiners, judges, inquisitors and prosecutors selected from government (civilian as well as military officials) and private life. There is a vast and growing aggregate of state police, military intelligence, Congressional and Civil Service investigators which, with the co-operation of informers, spends most of its time searching out the private lives of law-abiding citizens. As Gellhorn proves, with a wealth of detail (and as leading scientists, educators, industry executives and others confirm), the security and loyalty programs have had a most detrimental effect on science and national welfare.

They have slowed and weakened our defense measures; created a climate of fear and suspicion throughout the government; driven from federal service the best men and made their replacement even by the second and third best most difficult; facilitated abuses of political power; flouted the legal rights characteristic of Anglo-American justice since Magna Carta; exalted the police and stool pigeon; served as examples for (and inspired similar programs in) industry and university; apotheosized the traits which make for second-rateness and damned those which are essential to creative thought. With all this, of spies and saboteurs in government our guardians have uncovered none, the FBI, in the course of 10,000 "full field investigations" and 3,000,000 examinations of records having found no evidence even "directing toward espionage."

Finally, add to the impact of these programs the iniquities of the McCarran-Wood law just passed, and inevitaby there must follow the corruption of ordinary daily life, the debasement of society, the perversion of relations between men, so well described by Edward Livingston in the debate on the infamous Alien and Sedition Acts:

> The country will swarm with informers, spies, delators, and all the odious reptile tribe. . . . The hours of the most unsuspected confidence, the intimacies of friendship, or the recesses of domestic retirement afford no security. The companion whom you must trust, the friend in whom you must confide, the domestic who waits in your chamber, are all tempted to betray your imprudent or unguarded follies; to misrepresent your words; to convey them by calumny to the secret tribunal where jealousy presides—where fear officiates as accuser, and suspicion is the only evidence that is heard. Do not let us be told, that we are to excite a fervor against a foreign aggression to establish a tyranny at home.

What, it may be asked, can our enemies do to us that we are not already doing to ourselves?

GREEN, SANSOM, WILLIAMS

Back, by Henry Green (Viking; $3).

The subject of Henry Green's tender and witty new novel is a young man's delicate madness. He has come back from war, to find that his girl Rose is dead, and for a time he can see and hear nothing in the world but the shadows and echoes of his loss, so that Rose as flower, noun, verb and title of waitresses sounds to him from everyone's lips. Then this Rose-madness and the subtle depiction of it lessens, as the Rose-besieged young man lets in the light of day on his Rose-clouded mind.

But there is more than one form of madness in this book. Rose's mother, for example, has quite lost her memory and most of her mind over her daughter's death; other minor characters suffer, in buzz-bombed England, from a general mental wooliness. Business letters, too, are shady with stratagems, neurotic duplicities, and just plain lies. But the point that more persons than the young man limp through a semi-fantasy world is lightly made and is but one in a complex of many. There is the whole business of the many Roses—the one in the young man's mind; the one whom fat, pleasant James, her husband, knew; the Rose the mother named and raised; and then the false Rose (*i.e.*, Rose's unknown half-sister) who the young man, in his particular craziness, thinks is the *real* Rose. Rose, both dead and alive, becomes, it is obvious, more than herself—a symbol of goodness, love, and just Roseness—around which all who knew her revolve. The Romance of the Rose.

Back is a comedy of little madnesses becoming sensible, becoming related and connected again to the real world. For Rose's mother regains her sense and the hero finally gets it into his head that the half-sister is the true, the really real love, and more of a rose in essence than his first Rose could ever have been. Many other double plays and parallels could be noted: the plot is a triumph of ingenuity. As for style—it is so economical and cuts through so many trappings (which most novelists seem to find it necessary to keep) that you get the impression of really seeing character and event portrayed in a new way. In short, the old patterns of writing and telling are broken up: the focus—ever upon the tension between sanity and delusion—is so sharp and unexpected that you have to learn how to adjust to it.

South, by William Sansom (Harcourt, Brace; $2.75).

These stories, by the author of *Fireman Flower,* that collection of brilliant allegories, are curious examples of the influence of travel, the detachment it bestows, upon a writer's sensibility. Baedekers, they are, of the rare eye that uncovers in Monte Carlo, in Naples, Sienna, Florence, elements and aspects that nobody else has seen, that, for the most part, only Sansom *would* see, but there is nevertheless a museum air around and about many. Some of the stories seem too slight for their massive, rich and studied treatment. Others seem to be just superb descriptive pieces wherein one misses more intimate perceptions, perceptions more deeply related to the powers of the writer. Not so in "Poseidon's Daughter," with its oblique and mythy theme, or "My Little Robins."

Shadows of Ecstasy, by Charles Williams (Pellegrini & Cudahy; $3).

Charles Williams always begins by stimulating the reader to enormous expectations by the brilliance of his moral and imaginative ideas. But these ideas get turned over to plot hocus-pocus and killer-diller battles between good and evil, and often the intellectual excitement of what first gets postulated is lost in the scuffle. In this novel, that dark and unknown continent, Africa, symbolized here as the one remaining source of the instinctual, the intuitive, the purely emotional, has been organized through the powers of Consadine, a magician-like god-man (he has managed to live some two hundred years), to know itself and what it stands for—Love, Release, and/or Death. As a power conscious of its strength, it declares war upon reason-exhausted, and spiritually-played-out Europe. Soon African armies, by plane and sea, are attacking London. Will Love win out against mere busyness, business, routine and mechanized habit? Here Williams' power as a very special kind of

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novelist shows up best: his ability to make an improbable situation, based upon purely idealistic thinking, seem credible. For you do believe that African planes are pounding London and that Consadine is all but next to God. You believe it up to a certain point, since the writer does, and since he takes the incredible for granted with such intellectual firmness and presents it with so much writing craft. The discrepancy is this: the ideas behind the fantasy-fiction of his plots are serious and vital, but the machinery by which they are carried into final operation makes them appear less vital—almost as slightly cock-eyed as the machinery. Ultimately, then, one ends up breathless, feeling cheated. JEAN GARRIGUE

MOVIES

Hail to Bette Davis

ABOUT ONCE A YEAR, Hollywood relaxes the lollypop diet on which it sustains a large but jaded public, and serves up one dish of acidulous sophistication. Or to be more precise, about once a year Joseph Mankiewicz at Twentieth Century-Fox does this under the indulgent eye of Darryl F. Zanuck. The last chef's special was "Letter to Three Wives"; the new one is "All About Eve," the bitchiest fabrication since Mrs. Luce's "The Women."

It is not true, as you may have heard, that "All About Eve" is a great picture and proof that Hollywood has grown up overnight. Its highly polished, often witty surface hides an unenterprising plot and some preposterous human behavior. What makes the picture seem so good (what makes it eminently worth seeing) is the satirical touches in its detail and the performance of Bette Davis.

The character she plays is Margo, an actress of the American stage who rules her audiences by intelligence and magnetic arrogance. She is at the peak of her professional career, but offstage the pressure of the years has begun to turn her Rabelaisian enjoyment of human relationships toward a virago possessiveness. Margo's friends still love her, but they find it increasingly heavy work. This is a rewarding part and Miss Davis pitches into it with the relish of a fine

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actress who has been subsisting for a long while on bare bones.

The viper in Margo's bosom is one Eve Harrington, played by Anne Baxter with the serene malevolence of one of the poisoning Borgias. She does her devil's work capably, but the personality inflicted on her is both improbably and unnecessarily revolting. "All About Eve" puts no faith at all in subtlety. The third lady in the clawing match is Celeste Holm, an actress who still holds unchallenged the title of Hollywood's most valuable all-around player. Guy Merrill and Hugh Marlowe appear as a couple of personable young theatrical geniuses, but in the overpoweringly feminine unpleasantness they are little more than well-mannered stooges. George Sanders, as Addison de Witt, a male witch, holds his own against the ladies, but his part is shopgirl *soigné* and another mark against the picture.

The satire of "All About Eve" is directed at the foibles and vices of the Broadway theatre; it is Hollywood's urbane retaliation for all the abuse and contempt that Eastern Seaboard wits have heaped on the studios in the years since "Once in a Lifetime." But despite the superb tailoring, despite its air of amused superiority to the alley cats of the West Forties, "All About Eve" does not quite conceal its awe of the world it mocks. It keeps stopping to gape in wonder at the gods it has come to undress; it heaves its darts with canny aim, but it is poised for flight. That does not apply to Bette Davis: she swings into battle with all guns firing and no quarter asked.

In one of his characteristically humble forewords, W. Somerset Maugham reminds the audience at "Trio" that he has never pretended to be more than a story-teller. Once or twice in a very long career he has been more than that, but broadly speaking he is right: not a poet, not a teacher, not a priest, he has been an elegant and honest entertainer of the idle.

Unfortunately for his winning self-depreciation, however, the present collection can hardly be called even stories. One ("The Verger") is a somewhat prolix build-up to a one-line joke; another ("Mr. Know-All") is an after-dinner anecdote; and the third ("Sanitorium") is a promising narrative setting for a story that has unaccountably been omitted. "Sanitorium" may have suffered in transference to the screen, but the other two are unmistakably the sort of thing that has frequently embarrassed Maugham's admirers. He does it well, but it is blatantly not worth his talents.

The whole picture, in fact, is a little irritating because it is so well done and so foolish. The producer (Sidney Box for J. Arthur Rank) has brought together a representative collection of accomplished and exceedingly attractive British actors. Among them are found Jean Simmons, Naunton Wayne, Michael Rennie, Raymond Huntley, Roland Culver, James Hayter, Kathleen Harrison, and a dozen or so more whose names are less known but whose faces and indomitable British personalities will be instantly recognized by any casual follower of English films. This able troupe is put through its perfectly-groomed paces by Ken Annakin and Harold French, a pair of top-drawer British directors, and the result is flawless, entertaining, and as substantial as ectoplasm. There is nothing wrong with that, but so much pother is raised about these Maugham collections that you may be annoyed to discover that a very foxy "old party" has done no more than blow smoke in your eyes.

Joseph Cotten, Valli, Spring Byington and Paul Stewart are to be found now in a thing called "Walk Softly, Stranger." Dore Schary presents it, but does not explain why. The picture tells the strikingly novel story of how a hardened criminal is redeemed by the trusting love of a crippled beauty; in this case the unhappy lady is also heiress to a couple of million bucks but the hero averts his eyes from that pile with a delicacy of feeling unusual in soft-walking strangers.

The first picture to come from the British zone of Germany is "Film Without a Name." Not to keep anyone in suspense, its curious title derives from the device of telling a story about how difficult it is to tell a story about post-war Germany. The technique is not unlike the schoolboy's stratagem of writing an essay about how he cannot think of anything to write an essay about. It is a safe guess that the proprietors of this picture were a little shame-faced about the confection they found on their hands: a middle-aged Duesseldorf esthete falls in love with a buxom housemaid from the country; she flees his advances (after submitting to them on one bomb-exhilarating evening) and he follows her back to the old homestead where love (the other was lust) blossoms in a haystack. When the scales fell from their eyes, the owners of this strudel grasped at a straw. "Let us," said they, "kid our little horror, by pretending that it would be really a sweet little story if we had the nerve to tell it." They quickly dubbed in some passages showing a well-known German star, Willy Fritsch, arguing with a writer and a director and demonstrating how *he* would play the hero if he were so foolish as to take the part. And they worked out some trick endings, tending to show that the original dénouement, blowsy with sentiment, was the only possible one. In that they are right, for no one yet has successfully sour-coated a sugar-pill. ROBERT HATCH

THEATRE

American Acting

THE CRITIC'S LIFE is not a happy one. He often has to speak at length about things which provide him with very little to say. Olsen and Johnson's "Pardon Our French," for instance, is like a traveling salesman's jamboree. You may think it fun or just noisy. Since there are more salesmen than esthetes in its audiences, the chances are that it will have a run. Being neither esthete nor salesman, I laughed hysterically at a sadistic gag which has to do with the work of a guillotine. For the rest, my most critical comment can only be: "Hellzapoppin'" was funnier.

Aldous Huxley's "The Gioconda Smile" is a play so oddly constructed that it begins to take hold only in the

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third act, by which time, unless it has been brilliantly performed up to that point, one's interest will have waned. The company that does the play here—it was successfully produced in London and Paris—is so badly cast that what values the work has are compromised.

Basil Rathbone has the role of a soft and somewhat spoiled artist-dilettante; it is not a good part for an actor whose energetic address and straight-line attack contradict everything the author suggests. Valerie Taylor is an English actress in whom—at least in her present role as the murderous spinster—the limitations of English acting are uncomfortably evident. English actors depend too much on their voices and on readings of an elocutionary-declamatory sort. This technique is often effective, but in Miss Taylor's case it destroys the sense of reality that might make "The Gioconda Smile," written for melodramatic effect through realism, convincing. The settings of the play have the wrong atmosphere, and the rest of the show is off-beat—all of which means that the director has not done a good job.

"Legend of Sarah" is the work of two writers — Gow and D'Usseau — whose ability is considerable in the field of the realistic melodrama with a message. Perhaps they believe the present a bad time for propaganda—it is a commonly held belief—and have essayed a light comedy to accord with the distemper of the times. They are badly equipped for light comedy, and their play defeats everyone connected with it —and laughter.

Ethel Merman — Broadway's only female tenor—is the chief and, as far as I'm concerned, the only attraction of "Call Me Madam." It seems that many people are all atremble because this Irving Berlin-Howard Lindsay-Russel Crouse musical has run up an advance sale of nearly a million dollars. If I had any share of that million I should also be atremble, but since I was only a spectator, I judge the show mediocre.

To be "fair," I might add that Russell Nype is an unusual juvenile for a musical comedy, that several of Pène du Bois' costumes are lovely, and that it is fascinating to see how the $15,000 wardrobe Merman wears is converted by her fullback personality from Mainbocher into pure Merman. The songs she is given are inferior Berlin, and hardly worthy of the epically dazzling New Yorker she is. And what, by the way, is that fine actor Paul Lukas doing in this galley? But no matter what I say, you will probably see "Call Me Madam" anyway, because everyone will ask you if you've seen it.

The death of Pauline Lord on October 11 brings to mind not only the beautiful actress she was, but the melancholy reminder of how few actresses of such quality still remain to us and how unlikely it is that many new ones will develop. For though Pauline Lord must always have possessed that tender brokenness which gave her acting its poetry, one must remember that she played in stock for ten years before she arrived in New York in Arthur Hopkins' admirable production of "The Deluge" in 1917 (a failure), and that it took till 1921 and "Anna Christie" before her worth was appreciated. In short, Pauline Lord—for all her limitations—was not simply a remarkable personality, she was, by experience at any rate, a trained actress.

What happens to talented young actors today? Once they are "discovered," they go away. Nothing is built up in them by the theatre to act as a counterforce to the lure of quick money in the movies or perhaps even television. The fault is not theirs; it is ours, because we have not kept our standards high. We declare every expert or outstanding attractive performance "great" when, as Jacques Copeau once said, there have been in history even fewer great actors than plays, that every generation produces only three or four who may be called great. With almost every bouquet we throw nowadays we throw away a talent. An actor will not work for what he seems to get only by a "break." We have no equivalent of Pauline Lord, Laurette Taylor, Otis Skinner today, because no one stays around and works long and hard enough to become one. HAROLD CLURMAN

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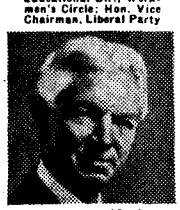

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